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ancient social importance. When Eyraud landed in 1863, the population was distributed in Hanga-roa, Anakena, perhaps Vaihu, and the district surrounding Rano-raraku. The missionaries concentrated the population in a single village and thus broke the last connections of the individuals with their ancestral territory. The memory of the old order survived with remarkable tenacity and as late as 1914 Routledge was able to obtain from aged natives references to lineage groups and their respective distribution. Williamson incorporated some unpublished material given him by Routledge in his study of the Easter Island political system (228, vol. 1, pp. 384-409). My study is based upon Routledge, Williamson, and new evidence which I obtained from natives.

TRIBES

Until recently the entire population of Easter Island was divided into ten paternal descent groups, called "clans" by Routledge. However, the word clan is too definite to be accurate here. I prefer the more general and more appropriate term tribe (*mata*). Although more than two thirds of the present population of Easter Island is composed of half-castes, each native knows to which tribe he belongs, either through his father, or, if the father is a foreigner, through his mother.

Probably at one time every tribe had its own territory which was known by the name of the group. Later the tribes became more scattered and isolated members or entire households of one tribe lived within the limits of another district; in some regions along the coast representatives of more than three groups were mixed. The old territorial divisions thus came to be mere districts where the main part of the *mata*, perhaps the senior line, was settled, and had little to do with the actual distribution of the tribes.

The spreading of the members of a tribe outside of the district bearing the name of the *mata* might have been the consequence of intermarriage and probably also of adoption if the adopted children kept their relationship to the paternal group. Certainly war was an agent of diffusion. Legends frequently allude to defeated people who asked for the protection of some relative among the victors. Members of the tribe which had been crushed in a war became prisoners or subjects (*kio*) of the victors. The *kio* were treated as slaves. Gana (86, p. 34) writes:

> The vanquished men fell as captives to the victor who carried off everything belonging to them including their wives and daughters. The conquered persons were forced to cultivate the ground of their owners. When the victor became tired of his slave as consequence of his age or of some illness, he drove him away and gave him permission to attend to his own affairs. The defeated man, fearing to be made a slave a second time, cultivated only a tenth of the land needed to support him and his family. He preferred to starve rather than arouse the jealousy of his enemies. According to the missionaries and other people with experience in this matter the fear of slavery has been one of the principal factors in decimating the Easter Island people who have become emaciated and consumptive.

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Gana is such a doubtful authority that we cannot know to what extent his depiction of the condition of slaves conforms to reality. It is certainly true that the vanquished were taken to the district of the victors and were employed in menial work. The transfer of families and individuals from one region to another might have aided in the mixture of the tribes.

Some tribes, the Hamea and the Raa for instance, were entirely included within the territory of another group, in this instance the Miru. This is a typical example of the subdivision of a large group into smaller groups. Three tribes (or subtribes) of the east, the Tupa-hotu, the Ureohei (Hitiura), and the Koro-orongo, had no districts of their own, but were mixed and scattered between the north coast and the south coast, east of Anakena and Akahanga, in the region called Hotu-iti. Hotu-iti might have been the name of a tribe, descended from the youngest son of Hotu-matua, which was subdivided into the above-mentioned subtribes, thus explaining the close association of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Koro-orongo as well as the absence of any distinct area belonging to each of the three groups.

Each tribe had a common ancestor, usually a son or a grandson of Hotu-matua, discoverer and first king of the island. When Hotu-matua knew death was near, he summoned a council of chiefs and the " . . . island was divided into districts and portioned out to the children of the king." To Tuu-maheke, the eldest son and successor to Hotu-matua, were given the royal establishment and lands extending northwest from Anakena as far as Maunga Teatea; to Miru, the second son, the lands between Anakena and Hanga-roa; to Marama, the third son, the land between Akahanga and Vinapu; to Raa, the fourth son, the land lying north and west of Maunga Teatea, which was called Hangoteo; to Koro-orongo (incorrectly spelled Koronga-ronga by Thomson), the fifth son, the lands between Anakena and the crater of Rano-raraku; to Hotu-iti, the sixth son, the east side of the island (215, p. 527). There are some inaccuracies and obscurities in the traditional division, as, for example, the inclusion of Raa as a son of Hotu-matua. In view of the following myth which describes the complicated descent of the Hamea and Raa from the Miru through two brothers and one mother, it is quite improbable that Raa was counted among the sons of Hotu-matua as the ancestor of a primary group.

A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. Taka and Parapuna, two young men of Miru, hid in a cave below Vai-mata with a Miru woman. The woman was pregnant by the eldest brother Taka. Nine months later when she was about to be delivered, she swam with Taka and Parapuna from the cave to Mahatua, where they arrived in the night. The two brothers had a cousin married to a Tupa-hotu who lived there and they walked directly to her house. From outside they asked, "You, our dear sister, are you here?" The cousin answered, "Who are you?" "We are Taka and Parapuna and we bring your sister-in-law who is about to be delivered. That is why we came to you." Their cousin came out and they wept together. She sent them into the cave Ana Omu where they could be hidden. The pregnant woman felt the pains of

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173 labor and the cousin assisted with the birth. The child was a boy. His navel cord was bitten by an old man named Humu-ave, who was later killed by the Tupa-hotu.

619 The elder brother gave his wife to his younger brother so that he could have a child of his own. Nine months later a male child was born. The woman returned to Taka and she became pregnant by him. This child was also a male. Then she was again given to the younger brother and a second boy was born to him. The woman was again pregnant with the third child of Taka. Later a third child was born to Parapuna. Each brother had a fourth child by the same woman. The children grew up. The people of Hamea and Raa were exterminated by the Tupa-hotu, but the enemies had not succeeded in capturing Taka and Parapuna who became progenitors of the Hamea and Raa groups, the younger one of the descent group of Hamea. The people multiplied. There was no longer a war so they returned to their country, Peperenga, near the bay of Hangoteo.

Peperenga, the place where the two brothers settled, was not far from Puna Marengo, or Hangoteo Bay, where there is an ahu called Taka Parapuna, belonging to the Hamea and Raa groups. In Estella's list (79, p. 63) of the tribes of Easter Island, Raa is mentioned as the name of the "tribe of Hangoteo."

The above legend and facts do not agree with Routledge's map, based on native information, in which the Hamea are located in the exact region of Hangoteo, and the Raa are placed together with other Hamea groups east of Anakena. According to my sources of information, most of those groups were established near Hangoteo, at the northern end of the island.

619 Supposing the traditional land division to be accurate, there would remain five groups (Haumoana, Ngatimo, Ngaure, Tupa-hotu, and Hitiuira) whose origin cannot be attributed with certainty to any known ancestor or to any ancestor whose name can be placed on a genealogical record. A logical supposition is that the curious absence of a definite district associated with the names of Hitiuira and Tupa-hotu indicates that these tribes have developed since the other groups to whom special territory was allotted. The greater importance of Marama in comparison with Ngatimo and Haumoana tends to indicate that the latter were originally subtribes of that important *mata*.

572 In speaking of the social organization of the past, the natives frequently
582 use the word *tumu* which they do not entirely understand and cannot definitely
571 define. Routledge and Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 145) were both puzzled by the word. Routledge refers in her note to a "mysterious word *tumu*" which she believed to mean only "neighbour". She says " . . . it was vaguely believed that originally one only married one's *tumu*; but no such restriction existed in known time." Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 145) believes that *tumu* "might possibly mean a human group, represented primarily by its main trunk family, and having its common origin or head. In that case, however, we should expect that the *tumu* would represent the group of people into which a man might not marry." I obtained the following definitions of *tumu*: "*Tumu* is a group from which you may get a wife. The *tumu* is a friend,

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but always of another group; he plants for you, he works for you. Every group has its *tumu*." The Hamea and the Raa were pointed out to me as being the *tumu* of the Miru. Victoria told me that the Miru was the *tumu* of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Marama, as they might intermarry; but later, in speaking of the subgroups or families of the Miru, she explained that the Tekena were the *tumu* of Ureokao (both subgroups of the Miru), because they intermarried.

A *tumu* may be defined, as Routledge surmised, as "a group of people into which a man may marry." However, I was told that there were also *tumu* with whom it was impossible to contract blood alliance "because they lived too near your house. When they lived as near as parents or friends, intermarriage was impossible even though they were *tumu*." From the definitions received, I deduce that *tumu* were people of one tribe who stood in a special relation to people of another. I cannot establish any relationship between the lineages in the different *mata*. It is not clear whether marriage was obligatory or only customary between the *tumu*. Marriage was forbidden to members of two *tumu* which were closely related by blood or perhaps by living together in the same family group. Routledge believed, as I do, that members of a group who settled in the territory of another were either related to the inhabitants by marriage or were captives. Such relationship would explain why my informants defined *tumu* as a group with which there existed marriage connections, or as a group obliged to work for another.

All of the present-day members of the Miru *mata* were pointed out to Routledge and me as being *ariki-paka* (noblemen) except the king of the island who was called the *ariki-mau* (principal *ariki*). It seems unlikely that every individual in such a large and powerful tribe should be considered an aristocrat even though belonging to the king's group. Probably the status of the ordinary members of the Miru was no different from that in other tribes, but some of the dignity and pride of the royal blood extended to the whole tribe, making it a little more aristocratic than the other tribes. Any member whose genealogy could be traced could claim direct relationship to the king's family.

In sum, the tribes (*mata*) of Easter Island seem to have been separate social groups made up of descendants of a common ancestor. They were thus, fictitiously perhaps, all related by tracing their origin to the king, Hotumatua.

There were no marriage restrictions among tribes, save those of the *tumu*. There is, however, a persistent tradition on the island that it is not proper for a man of another group to marry a Miru woman. Even now the natives believe that men who disregard that tradition are punished by physical disability. Tepano and Pakomio, who married Miru women, told me with great seriousness that by so doing they had exposed themselves to grave danger.

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619 582 626 [792] After their wedding nights both suffered from cruel pains in the stomachs and would have died if they had not applied to Pakarati, the catechist, who saved their lives by prayer and other ritual performances. This belief is perhaps the survival of an ancient tapu against marriages between female members of the *ariki* group and common members of other *mata*. However, Routledge (194, p. 246) affirms that unions between *ariki-paka* and commoners were possible in the old days, for the daughter of the great king Nga-ara is said to have married a man of the Marama tribe. It is certain that the king had to marry in his own tribe, though not in his own lineage. Other men of the Miru could marry into any descent line.

619 826 Certain physical peculiarities were attributed to the members of the different tribes. Thus the Tupa-hotu were said to have tender feet which easily became sore in war expeditions. The Miru were bow-legged (*ngapau*).

Geographical Distribution of Tribes

172 311 361 619 Ruins of houses and ahus scattered over Easter Island correspond to the distribution of the ancient population. All villages were concentrated along the coast and the mountains and plains of the interior were sparsely inhabited. On the slope of Rano-aroi, near Vai-tea, the remains of two or three ahus may still be seen. Another ahu is a little north of Mount Oroi. On the west of the island were some villages and ahus built at the base of the slopes of Rano-aroi and at some distance from the coast. The settlements belonged to the Miru and the Hamea. Some Marama were scattered farther toward the interior. All the ancient settlements east of Vai-tea had been founded by families from groups in the east. As testified by the scarcity and the relative unimportance of the ruins, the groups living in the interior were isolated and composed of only a few members.

619 646 The ten *mata* or tribes were divided into two main divisions corresponding roughly to the western and eastern parts of the island. The western and northwestern tribes were called Tuu (usually spelled Ko Tuu) or *mata nui* (greater groups), and the eastern tribes were the people of Hotu-iti or *mata iti* (lesser groups). The reason for this dualism is not clear. There is no tradition or fact suggesting that the splitting of the *mata* into two main divisions had a social function and it is probable that it was a political institution. It was manifest mainly in a perpetual antagonism between the groups, the memory of which has been preserved in legends (p. 74). It is important to stress the fact that the tribes of the eastern division are more frequently mentioned under the collective name of Hotu-iti that the tribes of the west are under the name Tuu. Thus it may be inferred that the eastern tribes were more unified than the western ones. The above data implies that Hotu-iti was a primary tribe which divided into smaller groups. Tuu seems to be a simple geographic designation. Near Hanga-roa on the west coast there is

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a mountain called Tuu which may have some connection with the general name of the western groups.

Dual division was correlated with certain aspects of the religious ceremonies. For instance the servants (*hopu*) who stayed on the island of Motu-nui awaiting the first eggs of the tern (*manu-tara*) were grouped according to the region from which they came (p. 335). The island Motu-nui was divided into two sections by a line passing through the center of a cave where the contestants lived and, according to Routledge (194, p. 261), " . . . also through another cave nearer the edge of the islet; in this latter there was at one time a statue about two feet high and known as Tita-hanga-o-te-henua, or the Boundary of the Land." The dual division of the groups was also observed at the stone village of Orongo where, to quote Routledge (194, p. 260), " . . . the group of houses at the end among the cave rocks was taboo during the festival, for they were inhabited by the rongo-rongo men, the western half being apportioned to the experts from Hotu-iti, the eastern to those from Ko Tuu." This dualism can be interpreted in the light of conditions prevailing on other islands. Hotu-iti and Tuu were probably two antagonistic confederations of tribes fighting for hegemony of the entire island.

The eastern headland, Poike, was not included in any district. That region is entirely barren and only three ahus were built on its edges—one at the foot of Mount Teatea, another on the eastern slope of Mount Puakatiki, and another facing the island Marotiri. The burial places were erected by Ureohei and Tupa-hotu people. The southwestern point of the island with its volcano, Rano-kao, was also outside of the districts, though some Marama, Haumoana, and Miru families lived near the present Mataveri and by the Ahu-rikiriki on the southern slope of the volcano.

The Miru were the most widely distributed of the *mata*, and families or representatives of the Miru lived in the districts of Marama and Haumoana, near the village of Hanga-roa and the bay of Hanga-piko, and on the slopes of Rano-kao near Mataveri. The Hamea and Raa groups are always mentioned together and are represented as being closely associated with the Miru in whose district they lived. They had no territory of their own. The Marama occupied a long strip of land from the west coast to the south coast. They are frequently mentioned with the names of certain important places where they were numerous. They are spoken of as the Marama of Tahai, the Marama of Vaihu, the Marama of Hanga-roa. The district given by Hotu-matua to his son Marama does not coincide exactly with the distribution of the Marama tribe. It includes the territory of the Ngaure, the Ngatimo, and a part of the Haumoana, but it does not extend to the west coast through the interior of the land. The Haumoana, like the Marama, extended from the southern coast to the western coast. Haumoana people are mentioned east of their boundary, settled in the district of the Ngatimo. The Ngatimo group was concentrated in a very short section of the south coast where fishing was unfavorable. However, Ngatimo families occupied the shore from Vinapu to Vaihu. The Ngaure were natives of Akahanga cove, but their real location overlapped their district, and some of them lived to the east of their land. The Tupa-hotu, Ureohei (Hitiuira), and Koro-

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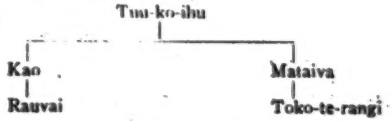
619 orongo had no districts of their own but were more or less scattered in the eastern part of the island from the north coast to the south coast. They had settlements everywhere in the interior, one as far as the vicinity of Vai-tea.

LINEAGE

613 The tribes included a number of lineages or subtribes. The natives of today fully agree that the ahus which extended along the coast, belonged to different "families" or lineages and that members of the lineage were buried there. The houses of the living members of the lineage were erected behind the ahus. Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 56), following Routledge's data, explains the origin of the lineages by a continuous process of segmentation: "They were smaller family units arising within the larger family unit, and again subdividing; and that process can be traced, not only in tradition, but in what appears to be comparatively recent times." Quoting what is probably a native definition reproduced by Routledge, he says, "The little clans were the children of the big ones."

My attention was drawn to such lineages by Victoria when she was trying to explain to me the position of the king in relation to his fellow members of the Miru *mata*. She stated that the king was always a representative of the Honga lineage which consisted of the direct descendants of the first king, Hotu-matua. According to Victoria, the other lineages of the Miru were the Ure-o-kao, the Ure-o-koera, the Toko-te-rangi, and the Te Kena. Some lineages were more closely related to each other than to the others of the same tribe. Thus, the Honga and the Te Kena claimed descent from two brothers of that name, sons of Tuu-ma-heke, the heir of Hotu-matua. Among the Miru, the Honga men were not allowed to marry Ure-o-koera and Toko-te-rangi women. They took their wives either from the Ure-o-kao or from the Te Kena. On the other hand, the Te Kena were *tuunu* of the Ure-o-kao and intermarried with them.

Actually the lineages or subgroups of the Miru were far more numerous than has been recorded. They were: (1) Ongo (Honga), (2) Mataiva, (3) Rauvai, (4) Kao, (5) Toko-te-rangi, (6) Maari, (7) Ko-era, (8) Hahai, (9) Matapu, (10) Moa-tahu, (11) Kai-huharu, (12) Ure-te-Niu, (13) Tuu-ko-ihu. In that list the Te Kena are missing and the Ure-o-kao appear under the form of Kao. Nevertheless we find the Te Kena in the genealogies of the founders of the lineage. The following genealogy shows the origin of several lineages of the Miru *mata*:



Tuu-ko-ihu was a powerful *ariki* who came to the island with Hotu-matua and to whom most of the sacred rituals are attributed. The other names in the genealogy are

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the village. This representation is confirmed by Lisiansky's description (143, p. 56) of the same village, seen in 1803. Delano (5, p. 356) observed that along Hanga-roa Bay were a big house and many more of different form. 361

In 1866, most of the natives still lived in Anakena (81, p. 53) and in 1872 a number of them were in La Pérouse (145, p. 65). The missionaries first attempted to concentrate the population in Hangaroa and Vaihu (215, p. 453).

Geiseler (87, p. 40) noticed ruins of houses at the following places: on the south coast Hotu-iti, Rano-raraku, Hanga-te-tenga, Hanga-mai-iku, Akahanga, Vaihu and Vinapu; on the west coast Ahu-a-kapú, Ahu-te-peu; on the north coast Vai-mata, Hangoteo; Te Akaue, Anakena, Hanga-o-honu, Mahatua. The precipitous east coast, from Cape O'Higgins to Cape Roggeveen, bears no sign of occupancy although the presence of an ahu seems to prove that this coast was not entirely uninhabited.

The large village mentioned by Thomson (215, pp. 486-487) must refer to the houses between Tahai and Ahu-te-peu (village of Ana-o-hoka). There are remains of several houses, though some have been pulled down by Williamson-Balfour Company agents for stones to build their walls.

CLASSES OF SOCIETY

There were four grades or classes in the Easter Island society: *ariki* (noblemen), *ivi-atua* (priests), *matatoa* (warriors), and *kio* (servants or farmers). This schematic outline made by Roussel (190, p. 660) is only superficially exact. It does not indicate the actual position of the aristocracy and of the commoners and does not include the specialized groups like those of the experts (*maori*). 565

The ruler of the hierarchy was the principal high chief (*ariki-mau*) whom the missionaries and the present natives designate as "king of the island." As descendant of Hotu-matua by right of primogeniture, the king had great prestige which was increased by the sacredness of his person although his political influence was slight. The term *ariki-paka*, applied indiscriminately to all the Miru, expressed a real or fictitious relationship which every Miru could claim with the king's family (p. 126). The ancestors of several tribes were supposed to have been younger sons of Hotu-matua, but there is no evidence in literature or in modern traditions that the *ariki* title was held by tribes other than the Miru. Here there is a striking parallel with Mangaia where only one tribe established *ariki* titles (31, p. 103). On Easter Island, as on Mangareva, the commoners were called *kurumanu*. 643 619 554 565

KING

Information about the nature of kingship in ancient times has been derived from letters and reports of missionaries, especially the notes of Father Roussel, and from anecdotes and details remembered by native informants. According 643

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of the English manager of the company which owns the island. At Mataveri the people who were to participate in the ceremony gathered for some time (Routledge says for a month) and spent their leisure time feasting and dancing. A big hut was built there, and great uprights were planted like columns in the ground. One of them is still standing, another has fallen which has one side carved like the back of a big image. Other such blocks and a huge basin stand in the Residence garden.

Feast of the Bird-man

The feast began in the austral spring (probably September or October), when *manu-tara* were nesting on Motu-nui. Only dominant, victorious tribes took part in the quest for the egg and the attendant ceremonies, for the privileges at stake were too important to be vested in an inferior or defeated group (*mata-kio*). The victorious warriors (*mata-toa*) who were entitled to live at Mataveri while awaiting the coming of the *manu-tara* were frequently referred to under the collective name of *ao* (*ka oho Mataveri ki te ao*; go to Mataveri to the dominant group), which means victory and consequently designates those who had obtained power over others through a successful military expedition. The word, in this sense, probably has no connection with the dance paddle, *ao*.

Routledge (194, p. 258) says that "only those belonging to the clan in the ascendancy for the time being could enter on the quest." That is, there was only one tribe who, for political reasons, had the privilege of performing the rites of the bird cult. The envied position was retained by this group for years, unless it yielded its rights to another friendly tribe. The jealousy provoked by this monopoly must have led to quarrels and even war. (See 194, p. 258.) However, it seems to me more likely that several powerful lineages participated in the egg race and the ceremonies. Roussel (190) clearly mentions a rivalry between several parties, and Routledge (194, p. 258) says that sometimes "clans" took part in the quest.

Routledge (194, p. 259) states that the preliminaries for the feast began almost a year before the discovery of the egg. She probably confused the time sequence and placed at the beginning activities at Mataveri which I believe occurred at the end of the feast. I was told that the feast began no earlier than January and perhaps even later. Possibly those attending the feast stopped at Mataveri on their way to Orongo. As my theory is supported only by my own reconstruction I will retain Routledge's scheme in the following description.

The people who were to take leading parts in the festivities left their villages to reside in Mataveri with their wives and children. There they lived in a big house or several houses, which were not destroyed until the second half of the nineteenth century. The long months of waiting were made joyous

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who was about the only able-bodied man on the island who did not participate. It was decidedly a go-as-you-please-race, every man selecting his route to the sea by the circuitous paths or directly over the face of the cliff, and many fatal falls are recorded as the result. The swim to Motu Kau Kau was a trifling matter, the chief difficulty being to return with an egg unbroken through the general scramble.

The *hopu* swam over to the island, supported by big bundles of reeds used as floats (*pora*). Carefully wrapped in the mats of the *pora* were provisions of all sorts which were "still hot when they landed on Motu-nui." To cross the 2 kilometers between the main island and Motu-nui was not an easy sport. The waves are generally high and often sharks haunt these waters.

On the islet, the *hopu* were provided with food which was cooked by the people gathered at Orongo and taken over to the island by servants who used *pora* for transportation. When the weather was stormy communications between Motu-nui and the main island ceased. Those who were provident dried banana and sweet potato skins in the sun to be eaten in case of emergency.

Whilst the *hopu* waited on the islet for the first *manu-tara* eggs, their masters and the members of the *ao* performed various rites at Orongo to propitiate the gods. Dances were held in front of the houses, and chants were sung for the gods by the *rongorongo* who occupied the houses at the end of the stone village, near the carved rocks. The dual political division of the island was reflected even in the abodes of the narrators during the feast. Those from Hotu-iti dwelt in the western group of houses, and those from Tuu in the houses to the east. Sometimes the king went to Motaveri to call on the people gathered there, but he never ascended to Orongo. At least that was the custom adopted by Nga-ara who was probably following an old tradition. Offerings and prayers were addressed to the gods Makemake and Haua who had created the birds and established the cult in honor of themselves. Makemake designated the man to be *tangata-manu* and thus incarnate the god. Routledge (194, p. 260) mentions *vie* Hoa and *vie* Kenatea among the deities who were worshipped at Orongo.

Tepano stated repeatedly that at Orongo there were many old men (*koro-hua*) who were sorcerers; they recited charms for the success of the competitors and had long talks with the gods, who entered some of the houses of Orongo. When a god was thought to be in a house, only the priest could enter and inquire about the contestant's chances of winning. While the priests tried to make the deities favorable toward those who resorted to them (*hatu o te manu kia Haua, kia kia Makemake*), the young people were busy making earth ovens, the contents of which they distributed lavishly among the priests or sent to the *hopu* on the island. Some of the food was set apart by the *ivi-atua* and consecrated to the gods with the traditional formula, "Ka too ma Haua, ma Makemake . . . " Tepano's reference to the sharp voices of the priests when they spoke to the gods is probably a personal memory of some